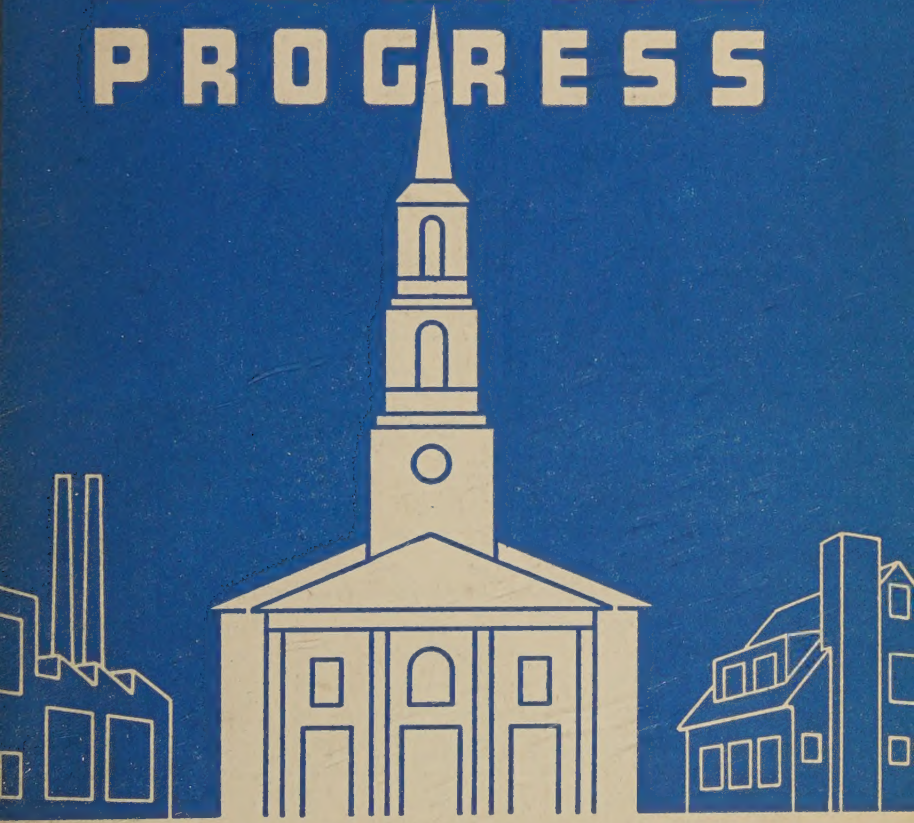
SOCIAL PROGRESS



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World Government vs. World Community

By Richard M. Fagley *

ONE effect of the atomic bomb has been to revive and reinforce number of idealistic efforts for orld government in some form. For short and now almost forgotten me following the San Francisco onference there was an unprecednted solidarity within the peace ovement for ratification, reflected the 89 to 2 vote in the Senate. A ortnight later, however, the atomic ge was announced and the old conroversies over the structure and trategy of world organization broke ut in new and sharper form. The ajor groups committed to the coperative machinery of the United Nations as the attainable next step ere confused or dismayed over the ew insecurity. The world governent groups, on the other hand, saw the threat of atomic war an overhelming argument for world fedration now.

On the whole it has been the proponents of the world state in one orm or another who among secular roups have carried on the more enrgetic programs since August. They ave worked closely with many of he nuclear physicists, helping to cirulate their warnings and finding new allies among the scientists. They have held strategy conferences at Dublin, New Hampshire, and at Princeton, seeking a common front. They have utilized with considerable success the media of public information. For these reasons, and for their possible repercussions on Church efforts in this field, it seems important to examine the problem of world government in the light of certain Christian perspectives.

Dual Concern

It should be said at the outset that world government has become part of the goal for international society set forth by Church leaders. World government, as the pooling of national sovereignties in a higher sovereignty of mankind, and world community, as the sharing of common moral principles and experiences, form the twin long-term objectives of Christian world order strategy.

The Oxford Conference pointed out the need to abrogate absolute national sovereignty, at least to some extent, to promote the rule of law. The report also stressed that law must be based on a common foundation of moral convictions. In this twofold demand we see the dual concern for government and community. Again, in the Statement of Guiding Principles adopted by the Federal

* Editor, *World Alliance News Letter;* Associate Secretary, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, of the Federal Council of Churches. From *Christianity and Crisis,* April 18, 1946.
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Council of Churches in 1942, we read: "We believe that the principle of co-operation and mutual concern . . . calls for a higher and more inclusive authority."

Moral convictions and law; community and authority; trust and international controls; fellowship and government—these are the dual guiding principles Churchmen have advocated. Men need, in international as well as national life, both a fellowship of effort and ideals and "a Common Power to keep them in awe, and to direct their actions to the Common Benefit," as Hobbes put it. Thus, world government is not an ideal alien to Christian thinking. What seems strange and naïve is the complete reliance of the federationists on government as the solution of the problem of world order.

Spirit of Peace

The thesis of the federationists is that "the nation-state structure produces war" and that "something will cause world peace—it is world government." In other words, if the particular devil of national sovereignty can be exorcised, the problem of war is solved. But peace is more than a question of structure. It is at least as much a question of spirit. Behind the phenomenon of national sovereignty lies the greed and pride of man. Unless there is a moral transformation of life, no effort to deal with the symptom of sovereignty offers much hope. To put it another way, a world monopoly of power will not bring a just and therefore durable world order unless it is based on a world community of values.

The oversimplification of the world government theory leads to consequent errors in strategy. Thus some of its advocates seem to think that if they can work out a world constitution that will avoid the mistakes and compromises of past federal constitutions, they will somehow enable the nations to avoid the struggles that have beset the history of actual federations. Yet these constitutional imperfections and compromises were not the product of stupid drafting; they were the result of conflicting interests. Without them, there would have been no American federation, no Swiss confederacy. In his final Federalist paper, Hamilton defended the proposed Constitution as the "best which our political situation, habits, and opinions will admit." He explained: "The result of the deliberations of all collective bodies must necessarily be a compound, as well of the errors and prejudices, as of the good sense and wisdom, of the individuals of whom they are composed. The compacts which are to embrace thirteen distinct States in a common bond of amity and union, must as necessarily be a compromise of as many dissimilar interests and inclinations."

The drafting of paper constitutions which neglect these "dissimilar interests and inclinations" seems

rmless. The same cannot be said, wever, of current demands for the ick transformation of the U. N. to a world government, as the po- ical answer to the atomic bomb. he consequences of this campaign quire particular attention.

Fear of Atomic War

The argument is that however suit- ble the gradual evolution of world overnment may have been in the e-atomic period, only immediate hievement of this goal will save us w. The race for atomic weapons, Norman Cousins says, is "not only ased on the distrust but generates strust." Therefore, he goes on to rgue, "this is the propitious mo- ent, the grand moment . . . to take e moral leadership in bringing the omic solvent into play" to achieve al government.

But the evidence hardly supports is hypothesis. The fear of atomic ar is not a general fear so much as specific fear of the United States ith a stock pile of atomic bombs, or the Soviet Union with a potential ock pile. It is a fear of opposing wers, or competing cultures, ther than fear of war in general, hich motivates most strongly pub- c opinion and major lines of pol- y. The deterioration of great-power lations since the atomic bomb and e end of the war has far out- ripped the slow and very cautious forts to establish international con- ols over atomic energy.

Thus the hope that the fears pro- duced by the new insecurity of all nations will be enough to win their consent to a world state seems un- realistic. The fears divide more than they unite, and unilateral proposals for establishing a common sover- eignty merely intensify the growing distrust. A few of the federationists, like Dr. Einstein, have recognized this danger and suggested that the Soviet Union, as the major power presumably still lacking the secrets of atomic weapons, be invited to make the initial proposals for a world government. But for the most part quite a different approach has been made. The objective has been to sell the American people on the idea.

In fact, the publicity for world government proposals here and in Britain have already widened the dis- tances between the Soviets and the West. The Soviet press has attacked "reactionaries" who use the atomic bomb as a threat to compel alteration of the San Francisco agreements. Mr. Gromyko said in the opening Soviet address before the U. N. in London: "Already now, when the organization is just being born, voices are being heard from some places speaking as if the charter had already become obsolete and needed revision. Such allegations must be decisively rejected. . . . Such allega- tions are dangerous, and under cer- tain conditions may lead to serious consequences."

(Continued on page 31)

Displaced Persons

By Robert Strausz-Hupé *

AMONG the more dubious achievements of international cooperation in matters of human welfare is a new terminology, sometimes meaningless and frequently misleading. Thus the anodyne term "displaced persons" refers to a problem that is far more pressing than such highly featured questions as, for example, the Great Power rivalries in the Middle East or the control of atomic energy. This problem concerns, in Europe alone, some thirty to forty million human beings, torn from their homes by war and modern practices of race and class liquidation. The following figures, based on the careful estimates of such recognized experts as E. Kulisher and Warren S. Thompson, may serve as an order of magnitudes.

The most important single group of uprooted peoples was the slave labor imported into Germany and the German-occupied countries to assist in war production. It is commonly placed at ten to thirteen million, including most of the prisoners of war. The largest contingents were the French, the Poles, and the Russians. These captives, especially the Poles and the Russians, worked long hours, drew inadequate food rations, received no more than the bare minimum of medical care required to keep them at their work, and were subject to merciless discipline enforced by a brutalized police. While it was first believed that the repatriation of the survivors from this group would, because of transportation difficulties, require one or two years, most of them have already gone home. This feat of mass migration was mostly accomplished by the migrants themselves who commandeered trains, cars, and bicycles, or took to the road on foot. However, large numbers have not gone home for the simple reason that they have no home to go to. Among these truly homeless peoples the largest group probably consists of East Europeans —mostly Balts, Poles, Ukrainians and Hungarians—who, victims of Hitler's New Order, now find themselves excluded, by race or religion or political conviction, from the new order of things in the Soviet-dominated parts of Europe.

The next two most important groups of migrants-against-their-will are peoples who fled before advancing enemy armies and populations who were removed from their homes in order to satisfy national demands for "ethnic justice" or territorial adjustments. Among the former the largest contingent undoubtedly consists of millions of inhabitants of

* Lecturer on political science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; author of *Geopolitics* and *The Balance of Tomorrow.*

uropean Russia who fell back be-ore the invading Germans. While ıe Soviet Union, by virtue of size, esources, and organization, is able o resettle or repatriate these fugi-ves more rapidly than any other ation in Europe, the task involves a igantic effort. This problem will robably dominate Soviet internal olicies for several years and may xplain much that appears enigmatic ı Russian foreign policies.

Poland is faced simultaneously ith the problems of resettling her efugees and re-creating her entire conomic and administrative struc-ure. Similar difficulties are faced y all countries of southeastern urope.

There are no reliable statistics for he Jewish population of Europe be-ore and after a decade of racist error. Estimates of the prewar popu-ation vary between seven and nine illion. It is commonly agreed that ıe survivors now remaining in urope number between three and our million. Warren S. Thompson stimates that out of approximately ve million in Germany and Poland ı 1939 all but a "few hundred ıousand" have perished. The bulk f these "few hundred thousand" ow live in the western occupation ones of Germany; an additional illion have survived in south-astern Europe. They have gone ırough long years of unspeakable orror and privation; nearly all of ıem are still today forced to live under abnormal and humiliating conditions. A victorious war waged against racist intolerance failed conspicuously to stamp out racist intolerance. It is a fact that the Jews do not want to return to the countries from which they were driven out—because these countries do not want them, cannot or will not restore Jewish property, cannot or will not cope with resurgent anti-Semitism.

The plight of the so-called *Volksdeutsche,* the German-speaking populations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, is in many respects similar to that of the Jews. They too are truly uprooted peoples. They too are being driven from their homes and deprived of their property. Their number is estimated at six million. While their future has not been definitely decided upon it is fairly certain that the majority will be "repatriated" to Germany. It is true that the Nazis were able to recruit sizable contingents of *Volksdeutsche* first for Fifth Column work, then for playing the role of master race in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania. But it is also true that many *Volksdeutsche* participated in these activities only under duress or not at all. Moreover, one would have to swallow whole the Nazi definition of race in order to consider these German-speaking groups and the inhabitants of the Reich as constituting a racial unity. More important still, the *Volks-*

deutsche are not wanted in Germany. No manner of reasoning can argue away the fact that policies which were deemed barbarous when they were being pursued by Nazis are just as barbarous when it is their former victims who now pursue them. To approve these mass expulsions is to accept the principle of the collective guilt of a whole people—an axiom alien to Christian and democratic thought.

The problem of the rehabilitation of slave workers, prisoners of war, and fugitives, and of the resettlement of homeless peoples varies from country to country, from group to group. Assuming even that—despite the general impoverishment and political disintegration of Europe—it can be solved for nine tenths of all displaced persons there will remain a residual group of three to four million for whom new homes will have to be found—if they are again to live dignified and valuable lives. The degree of success which will attend this undertaking will depend on the effectiveness of international collaboration and, to no small measure, on the leadership and material help furnished by the United States.

There are no easy solutions. Thus, for example, a large number of Jews can find new homes in Palestine. However, Middle Eastern politics and technical difficulties preclude that *all* homeless Jews can be settled in Palestine *now*. Not all Jews want to go to Palestine; virtually all Jews in eastern and central Europe wan to emigrate *now*. Similarly, it is un likely that hundreds of thousands o political refugees—Poles, Balts Spaniards, and others—will find new homes in Europe. For all these people overseas migration holds the only hope of a brighter future. Cer tain Latin-American countries and Britain, on behalf of her colonies have declared that they will welcome immigrants. But the modern large scale financing of mass settlemen and the occupational retraining o prospective settlers fall logically within the area of competence o the United Nations, for these activi ties will reduce international friction and lessen the danger of war.

If the United Nations decides to tackle these problems, positive unilateral action on the part of the United States would still be necessary. A wise program for positive action might begin with an educational campaign at home: Immigrants willing to work and bringing to this country the right kind of skills and knowledge not only do not take away someone else's job but create new jobs and add to our wealth. By formulating liberal, forward-looking immigration policies we can set an example for other countries capable of offering homes to Europe's unwanted peoples to emulate. The four freedoms are not enough. There must be a fifth freedom, namely, freedom for the homeless to move to new homes.

Liberation of World Trade *

Address by Clair Wilcox, director of the Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State, before the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 6, 1946.

THERE are times when the task of rebuilding a stable world order appears to be impossibly difficult. But the obstacles before us, serious as they may be, should not be permitted to obscure the very great progress that has already been made. And that progress has been great. Just call the roll. The United Nations Organization has been established; the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council have already met. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is caring for millions of the needy victims of warfare. The Food and Agriculture Organization, dedicated to the improvement of standards of nutrition throughout the world, has held its first meeting. The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will be in operation within the next few months. Steps have been taken to set up a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and an International Civil Aviation Organization. Our Congress has increased the foreign lending power of the Export-Import Bank. It has increased the authority of the President to reduce tariffs under the provisions of the Trade Agreements Act. We are developing the programs and organizing the institutions through which the nations can work together, side by side, to reconstruct a shattered world. For so much in the way of concrete achievement, in so short a time, there is no precedent in history. Much has been done; much remains to be done.

This is the purpose of the American "Proposals for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment" which our Government published on December 6, 1945, and submitted for consideration to the American people and to other Governments of the world. These proposals are based upon the conviction that human energies can best be directed toward the improvement of standards of living, if the world, instead of regimenting its trade, will seek to restore the greatest possible measure of economic freedom. They are designed to reverse the prewar trend toward economic isolationism and to resist the present tendency to fasten the pattern of wartime controls upon a world at peace. Their provisions may be outlined in a few words.

We have proposed, first, that the devices by which Governments have

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distorted the natural flow of private trade, whether through the restriction of imports or the artificial stimulation of exports, be modified or abandoned. To this end we have proposed that customs formalities be simplified; that discriminatory taxes, transit charges, and other regulations be removed; that trade boycotts be outlawed; that common principles be adopted to govern tariff valuation and the application of antidumping and countervailing duties; that full publicity be given to laws and regulations affecting trade; that tariffs be substantially reduced and that tariff preferences be eliminated; that duties on exports be imposed without discrimination; that exchange controls be governed by the principles established by the International Monetary Fund; that import quotas be limited to a few really necessary cases; that exchange controls and import quotas be administered without discrimination; that subsidies, in general, should be the subject of international consultation; and that subsidies on exports should be confined to exceptional cases, under general rules.

All the foregoing proposals relate to cases of public interference with private trade. In many cases, however, Governments themselves have established enterprises to buy and sell abroad. And in a few cases Governments have assumed a complete monopoly of their foreign trade. Here we have proposed that Governments conducting such enterprises should agree to give equal treatment to the commerce of all friendly states; that they should make their purchases and sales on purely economic grounds; and that Governments whose enterprises are completely socialized should commit themselves as to the quantities of goods that they propose to import. It is the purpose of these proposals to apply common principles of fair dealing to the trade of capitalist and socialist economics, so that the two systems may meet in the market place without conflict, thus to contribute each to the other's prosperity and welfare.

International trade has been restrained by Governments. It has also been restrained by the restrictive practices of private business: price-fixing, market-sharing, curtailment of output or exports, suppression of technology, and discrimination against competitors. We have therefore proposed that nations commit themselves to act, individually and co-operatively, to curb such practices when they interfere with the objectives of equal access to materials and markets, increased production and trade, and high levels of employment and real income. As one means of carrying out this commitment, it is proposed that a special agency be established, within an International Trade Organization, to receive complaints concerning restrictive prac-

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Household Employment

Excerpts from a statement by Florence Otis Kindle, before the House Ways and Means Committee in support of the extension to household workers of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance under the Social Security Act, April 12, 1946.

MY NAME is Mrs. Joseph H. Kindle. I am a member of the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and chairman of the Women's Committee on Household Employment. This committee was first set up by the women of the Board of Christian Education of the Church. The Department of Social Education and Action in co-operation with the Women's Committee has sponsored a study on household employment. When their recommendations were presented to the department it voted unanimously to adopt the report as an essential study, to constitute the women's committee on household employment as an advisory committee to the department, and to act as co-sponsors of the proposed recommendations for study and action. Therefore, I represent a well-organized, substantially sponsored, seriously concerned group of citizens made up of clergymen, men and women engaged in business and other professions, and homemakers. They are prepared to work over a considerable period of time on a social problem that affects the basic structure of American life.

Although household employment is a major occupational field for women, it has been substandard in almost every respect. Hours per week have been and in most cases still are far in excess of the factory week. In a 1939 District of Columbia study, over 60 per cent of the white and Negro domestic employees living in had a work week of at least 70 hours, and nearly 70 per cent of the Negro workers who lived out were on duty 60 hours or more. Maximum hour legislation applies to household workers in only one state, Washington, and the limit of a 60-hour week has not been enforced even there. Wages generally have been too low to permit even a minimum standard of living, yet minimum wage legislation is effective in household employment in only one state—Wisconsin. The rate of $6.00 per week with meals or $4.50 with room and meals, established in 1932, is entirely inadequate today. In this occupation there are no universal standards for contract relations, and the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act can in no way protect these employees because it applies only to workers in establishments engaged in interstate commerce. Household employees have no insurance against sickness or accidents, yet in only three states are they protected under state workmen's compensation: California, if working for one employer more than 52

hours a week; Ohio, if employed in a home having three or more employees; and New York, where no penalty is attached for violation. However, in some states employers may elect to come under the law. Domestic workers are also excluded from the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance provisions of the Social Security Act.

Because of these circumstances and others equally as bad, competent workers go into household employment with reluctance and leave it as soon as other kinds of work are available. During the war between 400,000 and 500,000 of the 2,000,000 household employees left domestic work to go into industrial plants or other war jobs. They found good working conditions, a share in social security, and a sense of contributing to the community something of value. Few have any desire to return to domestic work.

In the months ahead the continuing reconversion of war industries and the re-employment of men released from service will throw thousands of women out of work. For many of them family responsibilities necessitate their continuance as wage earners. Unemployment would cause great hardship and would contribute to lowering the purchasing power of the nation.

The opportunity to work under good conditions is the right of every person. But there is another reason for making domestic service a dignified and interesting profession. In these postwar years women will carry increased responsibility in business and the professions, and as volunteers in community affairs. To make this contribution is a privilege but it should not be made at the cost of disintegration of the family. If the home can be maintained by employing intelligent and efficient help such a situation need not exist.

There is before us, then, good and sufficient reason for making household employment an attractive and secure occupation for women. But all efforts to do so will be of little value if Social Security with special reference at this time to OASI is denied. Of what use are adequate training, good working conditions, and fair wages, if the unavoidable emergencies of sickness, unemployment, and old age are not taken care of?

We urge your continued serious consideration of this problem. Social insurance coverage has not been denied to household employees because of failure to see the need for it. Administrative difficulties have been a real problem. But the Social Security Board and the advisory council have agreed that "sufficient experience has been gained in connection with industrial and commercial employees to provide a basis for undertaking the coverage of household worker." If the Government can give this security to women workers in this field, then citizens can do much to lift the whole level of working conditions.

Political Responsibilities of the Christian Citizen

By Wilbur La Roe, Jr. *

PRESIDENT DODDS, of Princeton University, reminded the public recently that the right to vote does not insure to us the blessings of a Christian democracy. It is only the *Christian exercise* of the ballot that will give us the desired result.

It is frequently said that the Church is losing its hold on the masses of men. A prominent writer said recently that those who constitute the forward-moving progressive parties of today are "either actively or passively" anti-Christian. The false impression has been given that the Church and Church people are ultra-conservative. Nothing could be farther from the truth for the simple reason that Christianity is from its very nature forward-looking, progressive, even iconoclastic. Jesus was the great radical of his day. If the impression has been given out that the Church is ultra-conservative, it is because the great majority of Church people do not take seriously their obligation to Christ and to the Church in casting their ballots. A real Christian cannot be primarily a Republican or primarily a Democrat. He may be a Republican, or he may be a Democrat, but when he casts his ballot he must cast it as a Christian.

The Christian Church has far less influence than it might have in the field of politics. This is due in large part to the fear of "mixing Church and State." On the other hand, it is apparent that we cannot have a Government that is motivated by Christian ideals unless the men elected to public office have such ideals. The sad truth is that such men are in numerous cases not being elected to public office. Even in local communities where Christian people are in the majority we often find local politics in the hands of a group of politicians who run the community pretty much according to their own desires and for the benefit of themselves and their friends.

It is the practice of the Church to fight such evils as liquor and gambling. We are filled with righteous indignation over the widespread and increasing consumption of liquor, with 40,000 men and women becoming inebriates each year. And we also become angry when we see millions of dollars squandered in gambling while people starve. What Christian does not become fighting mad when he reads that the Presbyterian

* Member of the bar, District of Columbia; member of the District of Columbia Board of Parole; member of the Committee on Social Education and Action.

Church through its Board of Foreign Missions spends $3,574,000 for its work in a whole year in all parts of the world, while the race track at Belmont Park takes in over $5,000,000 in a single day?

But the difficulty is that we continue to elect to public office men who believe in the liquor traffic and in race-track gambling and then, after all the damage has been done by loose liquor and gambling laws, we naïvely direct our fight against liquor and against race tracks. What we ought to do is to direct our fight against public officials who make liquor and race tracks possible and who have no higher ideals than to vote in favor of the liquor gang and pari-mutuel gambling.

Not long ago there was introduced in the Maryland legislature a bill to authorize a game called "*jai alai*," a Spanish gambling game. Its leading sponsor was an assemblyman from one of the counties bordering on the District of Columbia. Under the leadership of some of our ministers a campaign was started to prevent his re-election on the ground that a legislator who sponsored such a gambling bill was unfit for public office. He was decisively defeated by Christian votes. What we need is much more of such courage and spirit of fight on behalf of Christian ideals. It makes no difference whether the offender is Republican or Democrat, for the Church does not participate in party politics. But the Church has a duty to fight when Christian principles are at stake.

One of the practical difficulties confronting us is that even in local elections, where national issues have little if any importance, voters have fallen into the habit of casting straight Republican or straight Democratic ballots in accordance with their stand on *national* issues. Not only does this not make sense but it is unchristian. A Christian ballot should always be cast with the sole purpose of advancing the cause of Christ.

Another and deeper difficulty is that the Christian voter often must choose between two candidates neither of whom stands for Christian principles. But this is due to the fact that Christian people have not been sufficiently influential in the primary elections. It is of basic importance to see to it that men with Christian ideals are *nominated* for public office. Good men cannot be elected unless they are nominated. Too often have we left the nomination of candidates to ward heelers meeting in the back room of a saloon. How about discussing nominations at an interdenominational meeting of Church people?

Pope Pius XII was on the right track when he said recently that Christian people have remained too much aloof from politics. Said he: "Exercise the vote. It is a great moral responsibility, at least when it concerns the election of those called to

give the country its constitution and laws, especially those that touch, for example, the sanctity of the family, the school, and the just and equitable regulation of social conditions."

The time has now come for all Christian people, regardless of sect, to let their voice be heard in the field of politics. We must not think in terms of mixing the Church with politics, but in terms of getting Christian people as individuals interested in the Christian aspect and implications of political issues vitally affecting the life and welfare of our people.

In the national field and in the international field there are issues of grave importance from a Christian viewpoint. We can make but little progress in the field of race relations as long as men elected to public office believe in discriminating against Negroes and Jews, as many of them do, even to the extent of filibustering to death a bill designed to prevent discrimination against minorities.

Nor can we make much progress in the direction of better relations between capital and labor as long as men elected to public office will brand as "communistic" any attempt to improve the conditions and the income of labor. When Christian people sought recently to obtain legislation for a minimum wage that would enable workers to have some of the more important necessities of life, but almost no luxuries, they were called "radicals" and "reds" by certain legislators who care more for profits than they do for the welfare of human beings. Who elected these men to public office? Certainly the majority who voted for them did not believe in holding wages down below a reasonable minimum. Their election to public office is explained by the fact that the majority of people holding Christian ideals did not cast their votes with a sense of Christian obligation. There are men in public office today who will connive with union racketeers even to the extent of encouraging violence and lawbreaking to accomplish their ends, with grave injury to the public. What we need is men with the courage to put public interest first.

People who have occasion to deal with Congress find great inspiration in the fact that a few men of the type of Walter H. Judd, ex-missionary to China, have seats in the House of Representatives. But such fine Christian men are in the minority in our legislative halls. Christian legislation will not be enacted by non-Christian legislators. "By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."

The Tragic Fallacy of Political Zionism

By Lewis Gaston Leary *

In the December, 1945, issue of Social Progress *we published an article on the Palestine question from the Jewish point of view, and in the January, 1946, issue we presented a report issued jointly by three Protestant groups seeking to analyze all the claims involved. The writer of the present article is one of those who feel that the Arab position has not been adequately stated. To meet that need, in our last issue before September we publish the following article.*

TO A PROPOSAL that Missouri should be made a national home for the Jews, President Truman would undoubtedly object that the people who live in his state do not favor any such disposition of their commonwealth.

An exactly similar situation prevails in Palestine. The people who live in that country do not want to turn it over to the Jews. If there remain any shreds of the doctrine of self-determination, this should settle the matter. Neither Missouri nor Palestine desires to become a Jewish state.

Opposition to political Zionism is in no sense a manifestation of anti-Semitism. The real anti-Semites are those who say, "The Jews must have somewhere to go; but we won't have them living anywhere near us, so let's ship them to Palestine." Nor is this opposition confined to Gentile groups. Zionism has never been more severely criticized than by a Jewish magazine *The American Hebrew;* the American Council for Judaism is now engaged in a strenuous ant Zionist campaign. Rabbi Isserman recently published *This Is Judaism* says that political Zionism "has bee a liability to prophetic religion."

The belief that a present-day mi gration of Jews to Palestine is i some way connected with Biblica prophecies is a distinctively Prote tant idea, which the Zionist leader themselves do not stress because the realize that these prophecies wer fulfilled long ago when the Jews di return from their exile, as th prophets foretold.

Of broader appeal is the plea tha Palestine should be given to the Jew because it is their Holy Land. But i is no less the Holy Land of th Christians and the Moslems. Shal it be turned over to what is by fa the smallest of the three religions t which it is holy?

It is urged that Palestine shoul be a Jewish state because it used t be one. But before there ever was Jewish state, or even a Jewish rac the ancestors of the present resident of the country lived there; they con tinued to live there after the Jewis

* Minister of the Presbyterian Church of West Milford, New Jersey, and author of *The Real Palestine* and *Syria, the Land of Lebanon.*

invasion, and when finally the Jews fled from Palestine the sturdy aborigines remained in the land, which has thus been continuously occupied by the same racial stock for at least four thousand years. So far as historic tenure of the land is concerned, the Zionist argument turns on itself.

During the past few years our attention has been called to the new material prosperity which the Jewish immigration has brought to the Holy Land—to which a Palestinian friend of mine replied, "If my watch kept better time after I had been robbed of it, that would hardly reconcile me to its loss."

In the attempt to justify what we might call "the case of the beneficent bandit," Zionist propagandists, Gentile as well as Jewish, have consistently pictured the inhabitants of Palestine as illiterate and shiftless nomads, who will suffer no special inconvenience from being shoved back into the desert where they belong. It is true that the bulk of the present native population, which had hardly begun to recover from the misrule of the Turkish sultans when it was subjected to the even more irksome tyranny of the Zionists, is not so well educated as the recent Jewish immigration. Also, lacking the large financial backing which the Zionist newcomers have, the native Palestinians have not been able to lay out great model farms, or rival Hollywood with a dream city like Tel Aviv. But is it a teaching of Christian ethics that the poverty and illiteracy of any people are sufficient grounds for depriving them of their fundamental human rights?

Given half a chance, the Arab[1] grasps eagerly every opportunity for education and personal betterment. My own observation as a teacher of both Arabs and Jews is that the former are the better students. This should not surprise anyone who remembers that the ancestors of these Arabs led the world in literature, mathematics, science, and philosophy at a time when few of the rulers of Europe could write their own names.

When some Christian fellow traveler writes down the Arabs as so hopelessly inferior to the go-getter Zionists as hardly to merit the consideration of us civilized folk, one wonders whether he has ever heard of such "Arabs" as Professor Saleeby, of Harvard; Professor Hitti, of Princeton; Professor Shibli, of Penn State; Rev. Kalil Bishara, of Brooklyn-Nassau Presbytery; vice-president Sadi, of the Chase National Bank; or Dr. Shatara, of the Long Island Medical College; and whether he has read the articles in *The Atlantic Monthly* by Abraham Rihbany, or the illuminating address which Dr. Tewfik Canaan recently

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[1] Since the appearance of the Zionist menace, the term "Arab," which used to be applied exclusively to the nomadic Bedouin, has been accepted by Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese leaders as the one available word descriptive of their common racial, linguistic, and cultural heritage.

Problems Raised by the Iranian Dispute *

By Vera Micheles Dean

WHEN the Security Council on March 29 accepted Mr. Byrnes's proposal that the United Nations ask both Russia and Iran for information concerning the status of their negotiations, it postponed until April 3 a decision as to the action it might take on Iran's appeal. In accordance with its expressed determination to deal at this stage with procedure and not with substance, it did not attempt to come to grips with the basic issues raised by that appeal. The discussions of the Council in the former gymnasium of Hunter College in the Bronx, however, have already served to focus world opinion on these issues, and have brought out two points of crucial importance for the future of the United Nations.

Differences in Concept of Equality. The first of these points is a fundamental difference between Russia and the Western powers concerning the concept of equality of nations. Marshal Stalin, in his answer on the eve of the Council session to three questions posed by Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press —an answer repeatedly referred to by Ambassador Gromyko—he stressed "the equality of states" in the United Nations. In view of this statement, Russia's persistent refusal to discuss the Iranian situation in the Council until April 10 has seemed to many disingenuous and unsportsmanlike. The other countries represented on the Council would not contend that all nations, great and small, are equal in power. But several of them insisted that every one of the United Nations, however weak or backward, must have the right to appear before the Council on its own behalf without undue delay, and present any complaints it may have against a great power on terms of legal equality.

The Council, acting on this concept of equality, had no choice but to make it possible for Iran to state whether it favored the postponement demanded by Moscow, and if not why not. Only after Iran's views about the proposed postponement had been ascertained, was it possible for the Council to address identical inquiries for information to Moscow and Teheran. Had the Council, after giving Russia an opportunity to explain why it was urging a postponement (an opportunity of which Mr. Gromyko did not avail himself except to refer to newspaper interviews given by Marshal Stalin and Iranian Prime Minister Ghavam), then merely asked Iran for written information, as suggested by the Australian delegate, Colonel Hodg-

* Foreign Policy Association, Inc., April 5, 1946. Used with permission.

son, it would not have afforded equal opportunity for a hearing to a small country bringing a complaint against a great power. Although Colonel Hodgson sought to demonstrate that the Council had, in effect, adopted his proposal, and might have averted Russia's withdrawal by accepting it in the first place, that is not an accurate description of the course taken by the Council.

Is the Council Treating Russia as an Equal? But admitting the validity of the Council's decision to reject Russia's demand for postponement by a 9 to 2 vote, and to invite Iran, following Mr. Gromyko's withdrawal, to present his views about the proposed postponement, the question of equality calls for further analysis. Russia has made no secret since Dumbarton Oaks that its idea of equality is equality among the great powers. This is at the core of the veto power reserved for the Big Five—and we should not forget that the United States was just as insistent as Russia on inclusion in the San Francisco Charter of the veto on action by the Council. Where the United States differs from Russia is in contending that the veto should not be applied to discussion of a controversial issue—although it may prove in practice difficult to draw the line between discussion and action, since the final decision in any controversy will be affected by the discussion that precedes it. But viewing the Council's debate on Iran in the light of its definition of equality, Russia contends that it is not being treated by the Big Five as an equal, since the Council has shown a concern about the presence of Russian troops in Iran which it has not thus far displayed about British troops in Greece or Egypt or American troops in Iceland or China.

The weakness of Russia's case in the eyes of the world is threefold. First, it failed to comply with the terms of the Anglo-Russian-Iranian treaty of 1942, under which all foreign troops were to have been withdrawn from Iran by March 2; secondly, judging by the testimony presented by the Iranian ambassador, which Russia has not sought to deny officially, Moscow, in the course of direct negotiations with Iran undertaken with the approval of the Security Council, sought to obtain political, territorial, and economic advantages in return for the withdrawal of its troops; and, thirdly, Russia declined to vouchsafe any information at the Council table as to the reasons why it sought a postponement of discussion about Iran —leaving the world to assume, rightly or wrongly, that it had hoped to obtain from Teheran, by April 10, the concessions it had been unsuccessfully pressing for during Prime Minister Ghavam's visit to Moscow.

In fairness to Russia it must be recognized that other great powers are using pressure on small nations to obtain new privileges (the United

States, during the war, sought to obtain oil concessions in Iran), or retain old ones (Britain appears loath to relinquish the right to maintain troops on Egyptian soil, which it has enjoyed under a ten-year treaty with Egypt whose termination is being demanded by Cairo). Nor does the reported Russian proposal for the creation of a joint stock oil company, in which Russia would have 51 per cent, differ materially from the setup of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. It would be unrealistic to assume that Russia alone among the great powers uses its influence to obtain from small countries privileges they might not otherwise grant. What is needed is not merely reform of Russia's practices, but reform of the practices of all great powers in their relations with small nations. It is encouraging that the United States has decided to relinquish on May 20 bases it had acquired in Cuba during the war.

U. N. Must Act on Basic Issues. The second important point revealed by the Council's debates on Iran is that if the United Nations are to give effective protection to small nations, they must do more than require strict compliance with treaties. If all nations agreed on the desirability of maintaining the existing order of things, there would be little reason for conflict. It is when one nation or another attempts to alter existing conditions that clashes occur.

The Council, which in London requested Russia and Iran to submit a report to the present session on their direct negotiations, has legitimate reason to seek information as to the status of these negotiations; and it is unfortunate that Britain and the United States, instead of waiting for this report, by-passed the United Nations and sent individual notes to Moscow inquiring why Russian troops had not left Iran by March 2. But it is even more important for the Council to find out why Russia wants political, territorial, and economic advantages. If upon investigation there should appear, for example, to be justification for Russia's demand for oil concessions, the Council would need to determine whether exploitation of Iran's resources by great powers can be carried out in such a way as to serve the interests of the Iranian people, who have hitherto had little share either in governing themselves or in deriving material benefits from their country's natural wealth. Russia's unilateral intervention in Iran is open to criticism. The remedy, however, is not counterintervention by Britain and the United States, but joint efforts under United Nations authority to find a workable compromise that would avert a conflict among the Big Three, yet would not impose intolerable sacrifices on small nations. But first, the Big Three must agree among themselves to subordinate their national ambitions to interests of the international community.

Barriers Delimiting Japanese Americans

*By Joe Grant Masaoka**

IN OUR United Nations participation, we have expressed our concern the world over for "human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." American occupational forces in Japan are trying to win Japan over to democratic attitudes, practices, and a political philosophy of similar persuasion. By contrast, undermining our avowals of good faith abroad, are the vestiges of discrimination directed toward our Americans of Japanese ancestry at home in this native land of America.

California—populous, rich, and industrial, with eyes directed westward to the markets of the Orient—is naturally anxious to establish herself as a good neighbor in the waterway trade outlets which beckon from the Far East. In this bid for good will, the Golden State finds itself bedeviled by statutory mandates that are remnants of an earlier California addicted to rabid anti-Orientalism.

That prejudice was sharpened by wartime hysteria and new teeth were enacted into what had been a dead-letter Alien Land Law. Under the spur of wartime passions, the 1945 state legislature appropriated $200,000 as an investigative fund to cite American citizens into the courts upon alleged violations of the state's Alien Land Law. Further 1945 amendments to the Alien Land Law imply that Japanese Americans acquired real property in bad faith, and thus place all real-estate transfers since 1924 in jeopardy.

Under a political and journalistic smoke screen, the racists of the state, imbued with the idea that anti-Japanese activities would gain popular support, have dangled the prize of what remains of 5,135 farms owned by American citizens of Japanese ancestry in 1940 when the Department of Commerce assessed these holdings at $65,781,000. California, predominant with people of good will, now finds itself in the uncomfortable and embarrassing position of seeing a minority engaged in a gigantic land grab scheme under sanctions of a law outmoded in this emerging new day when distant peoples are being brought together as neighbors under a world community, instant communication, and speedier transportation.

Less conspicuous but nevertheless highly discomfiting are various other discriminatory laws directed at Japanese aliens. Japanese residents of long standing find it difficult to obtain business and professional licenses; the California Fish and Game

* Regional Representative, Japanese American Citizens' League.

Code prohibits them from sport and commercial fishing; they find an almost impossible examination barring them from obtaining cleaners and pressers licenses; surveyors are prevented from following their calling of making contour markings on orchard trees for irrigation purposes; and those who would aspire to becoming real-estate salesmen find the law refusing such business opportunities to them.

Were these specific prohibitions leveled at Japanese residents the courts would declare them discriminatory. In the Old West the favorite device to erect barriers against Japanese in particular, and Asiatics in general, had been to make the laws applicable to those "aliens ineligible to citizenship." This phrase gave it justification and legal immunity. Under the impetus of earlier West Coast agitation engendered in the early '20's, Oriental immigrants were given the Congressional designation of being "aliens ineligible to citizenship." Discriminatory laws derive their dubious existence from the protective cover afforded by "aliens ineligible to citizenship."

In our national history various elements of our population have been at times under that category. Negroes and American Indians have been granted the privilege of naturalization in recent years. In 1943, our Chinese allies gained that right. Other Orientals are still beclouded under their ineligibility status, including Filipinos, East Indians, and other immigrants from the Far East. In the war effort many Japanese aliens have irrevocably cast their lot and their loyalties with the United States by participating in secret, strategical, and psychological warfare aimed at their former Japan homeland. Their sons have fought and died for America. The pioneer generation of Japanese aliens in America desire to be extended the privilege of attaining the same status as their native-born sons and daughters—that of becoming American citizens. Many of them lived in America most of their lives and their economic stake and ideological allegiance adheres to this country.

For the senior residents who are Japanese aliens the immediate years ahead pose many anxieties. Many whose economic underpinning had been destroyed by evacuation now find themselves too old to obtain work, without savings to start anew in business, and thrust upon public assistance.

With the rehabilitation and reestablishment needs of Japanese Americans so urgent, many have pointed out that it is timely for Congressional action on the matter of granting indemnification for losses suffered by reason of evacuation. Rather than follow other historical precedents of waiting a generation before granting such compensatory

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Education for Migrant Children

*By Ione L. Clinton**

MANY a child in a migratory farm family never learns to read or write or speak English. We may find this hard to realize, because we assume that all children in this country are required to go to school until they have completed a certain grade or reached an age set by the laws in their state. Indeed, we sometimes boast that all our children have an opportunity to get the full benefits of the American standard of education.

Our boasts sound empty against the hard fact that up to June 1, 1944, nearly 600,000 men 18 through 37 years of age had been rejected for military service because of educational or mental deficiency. A large proportion of them were able to learn but had not had enough schooling to pass a fourth-grade test established by the military authorities.

In a study made in Hidalgo County, Texas, in 1941, by the Children's Bureau and the United States Office of Education, the investigators found that of about 1,000 migratory children 6 through 17 years of age, who at the time of the study were living in their home communities, 500 were not enrolled in school, and 163 had never gone to school at all. About one fourth of those who had never gone to school were 12 years of age or older.

Every year thousands of farm laborers and their families migrate from Texas to Michigan to work on the sugar beet crop and to harvest fruits and vegetables. Many migrate from other places too. How little schooling the children of these workers get is suggested by figures from fourteen counties, published in the University of Michigan's School of Education bulletin, October, 1943. The author, Edgar G. Johnston, who called his study "Michigan's Stepchildren," found that although the school census for the fourteen counties included 2,570 migratory children only a little more than one fourth were enrolled in school at the time the information was collected.

What Children Are Up Against. When other children are in school large numbers of migratory farm children of school age are planting, weeding, or harvesting crops to eke out the meager income of their parents. Or else they are at home taking care of the babies.

Some migratory children go to school when they are in their home communities. Their homes, however, are very likely to be in parts of the country where crops are harvested in the winter months. And even after

* Industrial Division, U. S. Children's Bureau. From *The Child*, November, 1945, published by the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Used with permission.

a youngster reaches home and starts school he leaves from time to time to work in the fields. And by March or April the family starts out again and the child leaves school.

In one locality the district school superintendent reports that last year a school in his district opened in the first week of September with only 30 per cent of the children in the community present. By December nearly all the children had come to school, but by the middle of April attendance had dropped to 40 per cent. The rest of the children had either left the community or were working in the onion fields near by. Another school in the district had already closed because all the children had left the community with their families to follow the crops.

A few migratory farm families try to give their children some schooling in the various communities along their migratory route. But during the harvest season many rural schools close to release the local children for work in the fields. If the schools are open and the migratory child enrolls, he may not be in school a month until he moves on with his family. This may happen again and again and may keep the child from ever completing a grade.

What Schools Are Up Against. Because the children change schools often and because they attend so irregularly, teaching them becomes a special problem. There are other reasons too why it is difficult for schools to absorb these children. Often the children are poorly dressed. They may be in ill health because of bad food, lack of sanitation, and the absence of medical care. In addition, a considerable number of migratory farm families speak a foreign language only and understand little English. Another considerable group of migrants are Negroes.

Special Funds Provided. An occasional state has enacted legislation for special state aid for schooling for migratory children. In 1943 New Jersey passed a law to apportion to each school district $45 for each child of a farm worker not a resident of the state. At present this provision has a time limit, but consideration is being given to make it permanent. California for some years has had permanent legislation that provides special funds to aid counties in providing for emergency schools for these children.

Larger Earnings by Parents Help. Temporarily at least, the better wages and steadier work of the war years have reduced the pressure of family poverty that forces children to work in the fields and to lose schooling. A Texas welfare officer reports that some fathers in his county were earning enough last year to leave their families in their home communities so that the children could go to school during December and January while the fathers picked carrots in a near-by

county. A Government agricultural station through which many farm families pass on their migratory route reports that a few families with children returned earlier than usual from cotton-picking in the fall of 1944. The parents said that they were doing so in order to give their children a better chance to enter school and that they were able to do so because their earnings were larger than usual.

Local Communities Are Experimenting. Some communities in which migratory farm families live during the time they are harvesting crops are making efforts to find out the best ways to give the children an opportunity to go to school. They have found that an important factor in getting them into school is to make the children feel themselves a part of the community.

In Kern County, California, an elementary school was set up, with special funds provided by the state, for the children of workers in a Federal farm-labor supply camp at Arvin, California. Through the years this school has grown in size and strength, has found a permanent place in the community, and has brought the people of the community and of the camp together. Neighboring farmers contribute pigs, rabbits, cows, sheep, and chickens for the school lunch; the children learn to take care of the animals. Last year the older boys built a swimming pool on the school grounds, with the principal directing and working with them. This pool is now also used by the community. The county school superintendent reports that this year the upper-grade children of both the families in the camp and those with permanent houses in the community will attend the camp school together, and the lower-grade children of both groups will attend the district school.

Another experiment was carried out in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. The college established an experimental elementary school lasting six weeks. Interest in setting up the school was stimulated by the work of the Home Missions Council among migrants. The Inter-American Affairs Office financed the school. The college bus transported the children, and the city schools co-operated by permitting the use of a school building. One of the members of the teaching staff was a young woman who herself had come to Michigan as a child with her family to do seasonal work. This woman graduated from Central Michigan College of Education.

The protection of child-labor laws, as well as effective compulsory school-attendance requirements, are fundamental to broad attack on problems of educating migrant children.

A sound program of national planning and co-operation among states is needed to give such children opportunity for a good education.

For Ti

The Challenge of Brotherhood One of the most courageous statements on race relations ever adopted by any official Christian body was approved by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at its meeting in Columbus, Ohio, during March of this year. Essence of the statement was this:

"The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby renounces the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood. Having taken this action, the Federal Council requests its constituent communions to do likewise. As proof of their sincerity in this renunciation they will work for a nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society."

The question we must face is, Shall our Churches be organized according to the customs of the world, with less popular minorities excluded, or according to the teachings of Jesus? It is heartening to know that Christian groups in many cities are striving courageously to meet this challenge.

One of the most encouraging developments is the Fellowship Church of All Peoples in San Francisco. The Church has copastors, a Negro and a Caucasian. From the very beginning its membership has been so inclusive that it could not possibly be identified as a predominately Negro or white Church. It is a Christian Church.

Fellowship Churches of another kind have been formed in many cities. They are composed of Christians, most of them active members in other Churches, who come together Sunday afternoons to worship in a fellowship that includes all the peoples of the community. Ministers of different races and denominations who also serve conventional Churches provide leadership. Two of the most successful ventures are in Philadelphia and Detroit.[1]

These Churches should not be necessary and are no substitute for a conventional Church serving naturally all the people. But they are a constructive and courageous step in the right direction. The steadily increasing number of Fellowship Churches and the enthusiastic support they are receiving in so many cities is unmistakable evidence that more and more Christians are determined to end segregation in the Churches and accord a warm welcome to every sincere worshiper. The reality of brotherhood shines like a lone star beckoning us to One who would draw all men unto himself, teaching that "whosoever shall do the will of God the same is my brother."—N.E.K.

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[1] *Come Let Us Worship*, a pamphlet describing these Churches, is available free from the Department of Social Education and Action.

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The Y.W.C.A. Faces Today's World

Three moments of great spiritual import highlighted the Seventeenth National Convention of the Y.W.C.A. held recently in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

1. The adoption, unanimously, of the Interracial Charter to the effect: "This fellowship without barriers of race, this better life for all, is an accepted goal which we of the Y.W.C.A. strive to achieve. Wherever there is injustice on the basis of race, whether in the community, the nation, or the world, our protest must be clear and our labor for its removal vigorous and steady. And what we urge on others we are constrained to practice ourselves. We shall be alert to opportunities to demonstrate the richness of life inherent in an organization unhampered by artificial barriers, in which all members have full status and all persons equal honor and respect as the children of one Father."[2] This action is all the more significant when we recognize that the delegates came from associations scattered all over the United States.

2. The adoption of the Public Affairs program gave the delegates a set of concrete principles for action. The report states: "There is no hope of establishing a more Christian social order except through the labor and sacrifice of those in whom the Spirit of Christ is active. . . . Only by conscious effort on all our parts will peace and justice be achieved." The program outlines steps to be taken toward such ends both in international and domestic affairs: a. Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights. b. International Relations. c. Social and Economic Welfare. d. Minority Groups. e. Education. f. Public Health. g. Special Problems of Youth.

3. The adoption of a goal of $2,500,000 to be raised for reconstruction work in other countries and expansion of work in this country. In connection with this event the delegate from Hawaii presented a sizable check to start the fund, this money having been raised by the women of Hawaii through the sale of cookbooks. The delegate from Korea presented several pieces of rare jade as a gift from Korean women to help to relieve the stress of a war-torn world.

Many have said of our day that we are in a dilemma because scientific development has so far surpassed our ability to expand in the field of human relationships. This dilemma can pass only as rapidly as individual Christians can put into practice these great truths upheld by our Churches and our Christian organizations—truths that must lead us in this day.—F.M.C.

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[2] From *Work Book*, March 2-8, 1946, Young Women's Christian Association.

*Let Us Be Sane About Russia**

Excerpts from a sermon by Rev. A. Powell Davies, delivered at All Souls' Church, Washington, D.C., March 10, 1946.

THERE seem to be three ways of regarding Russia, two of which lead to war and the third to the promise, though not the certainty, of peace.

The first is the way of hostility, open or suppressed, and probably a majority of Americans consciously or unconsciously are victims of its influence. There are some among us who find it impossible to forgive the Russians for having a successful revolution. The only revolution those thus-minded can esteem is our own of 1776, and they esteem that one for the wrong reasons. What the Russian rulers mean by democracy is evidently not rule by, but rule for, the people.

There are others among us who do not necessarily mind what the political system of that country is, but are afraid that Soviet collectivism will spread. They do not want the economic status of America changed —and especially their own. If you believe in the maximum of economic freedom, you must learn to regulate it and improve its working until it is more productive than any other and at the same time more just. If our intention is to increase our national production and, in regulated freedom, secure its wider and more equitable distribution, then no other system can prevail against us. If the Russian system is a rival system, all that we have to do is to outmatch it—in justice, in social welfare, and in benefits to all.

There are other causes of hostility to Russia. Down to now the Soviet Russians have been more democratic than ourselves in race relations. There are Americans who silently but deeply disapprove of this. Until the war, the Soviets opposed imperialism. The Russians disestablished a strong and tyrannical Church. That is why the Vatican hates Russia.

The second way of regarding Russia is the extreme opposite of the first, and yet it also leads to war, and just as surely. Those who adopt this way see the Soviets as immaculate, the Kremlin policy as flawless, the Communist party as impeccable.

We have not only "party liners" and "fellow travelers" but also a third group, which might be called the "travelers' aid." They are so disillusioned, or so tired of doing their own thinking, that their spiritual choice has narrowed down to two possibilities: to join the Roman Catholic Church or to join the Soviet version of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Americans whose real allegiance

* From *The New Republic*, March 25, 1946. Used with permission.

is to Russia, together with those who are half persuaded by them, will cause a war with Russia, if we let them. A point will arrive where conflict is inescapable. With a sudden recognition of realities, Americans will resist the Soviet encroachment. Each country, by that time, will think it has superiority in atomic weapons; atomic war will be the outcome.

But there is a third way of regarding Russia. It seems to me the same way. It recognizes that between ourselves and the Soviets there are many differences. Freedom, to us, is vital. To them, at most, it is an aspiration for the future. The Russian press keeps the people ignorant whenever and wherever the rulers want the people ignorant; it misinforms deliberately for what the Kremlin thinks sufficient reason. However badly some of our newspapers may mangle the truth, it is the truth they mangle.

It is sane to have these facts in mind, to know that there are differences, and to know that they amount to opposition. It is sane to accept what must be true of Soviet ambition: that the Kremlin hopes to sovietize the world. Not in deliberate imperialism—no, just for self-protection. Can it be doubted that the Kremlin sees the Western nations as demoralized, believing that little by little they will give away their strength, or suffer internal upheaval, or quarrel with each other? In every instance the Soviets hope to move a little farther. They believe in their own system; they have faith in themselves. The sane thing is to recognize the conflict, the opposition, and to make it peaceful by a firm, enforceable agreement. Russia will change. So, no doubt, shall we. Let the two systems modify each other in whatever measure day-to-day experience may determine.

We must meet the Russians for a fundamental reckoning. We should put ourselves in the right on all the things in which we are in the wrong. We are wrong about Spain; wrong if we want a group of Vatican-minded, authoritarian states in Central Europe semicircling Russia; wrong if we want to go on putting atomic energy to military uses, or to keep it under military control. We should send our delegates, authorized to say that we are ready to dismantle our atomic bombs, ready to have our country so regulated and inspected that no other nation needs to fear us, ready for active and progressive international control in all that concerns security.

It is true that there will never be enduring peace except with justice, that peace will never live for long unless it draws its breath from freedom. But neither the Russians nor the world will be convinced of this until we demonstrate it by what we commit ourselves to do in the present age.

The New Negro Press

By Cora E. Hawkins *

PUBLISHERS and editors of Negro newspapers had a conference in New York recently at which they formulated plans for a new spirit in the Negro press. Today this new Negro press is united in a campaign to get political equality for the Negro-American citizen. It has a threefold program: (1) to call attention to the political inequalities to which the Negro-American is subjected; (2) to stimulate in the Negro-American population an awareness of the group's rights under the Constitution; (3) to give complete coverage to the good citizenship of the Negro.

This program means that the Negro press will need the co-operation of the white press. At a luncheon with the staff of *Editor & Publisher* during the conference, these Negro newsmen emphasized the need for this co-operation especially at the local community level. These newsmen know from experience that the core of Negro-white relations is in the community. It is only when the community adopts an intelligent attitude which is reflected in the editorial policy and news features of the paper that unity can be obtained in intercultural relationships. These Negro newsmen are asking for an editorial policy in the white press which will not play up the crime story in which a Negro is accused if the only news value to that story is the Negro angle. The present policy of most of the white press is to give bold headline attention to such crime stories or other prejudicial remarks about the Negro. Then when these allegations are later proved mistaken these same papers fail to carry these follow-ups or else bury them in the classified advertisements.

The Negro-American citizen today is news. Americans need and want factual information on the Negro citizen. A public-opinion poll by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver showed that Americans were uninformed on the problems which beset the Negro. "The Negro in American Life" exhibit of the Council Against Intolerance in America has had 475 showings in the past year. Such popular response is an indication of how much Americans of all races, creeds, and color want to know about the Negro. The darker brother, who represents 62.5 per cent of the world's population, keeps a watchful eye on the treatment of the Negro in America. These people know that democracy is not the privilege of the few but the right of all people.

* Assistant Public Relations Adviser, Council Against Intolerance. From *American Unity*, November, 1945. Used with permission.

Magazines Treat the Problem

Many American citizens realize this and we have numerous organizations and civic groups dedicated to interracial unity and good will. Many Americans are taking constructive measures to eliminate racial hatred, racial conflict, and bigotry. To answer this need of a new America, magazines, books, and newspapers throughout the country are featuring articles on the Negro, on tolerance, and on intercultural activities.

That old stereotype of the happy bootblack or porter and the spiritual-singing domestic is being jarred from the American pattern. The Negro himself is doing a great deal in this respect. Never before have the newsstands in the Negro ghetto featured so much material about the Negro for the Negro, and never before have so many Negro people bought these materials. There are pamphlets on the Negro, picture magazines on the Negro, news magazines on the Negro, and, most of all, there are Negro newspapers.

The basic need for the Negro press stems from the fact that the Negro is segregated into a ghetto. For these papers not only give the week-to-week record of the Negro in all lines of American activity, but they take up the fight to get the Negro in more and varied occupations and to obtain for the Negro more of the rights to which he is entitled.

They Cover the Field

For example, the Negro weekly will tell about the Negro soldier in Europe, the Pacific, Alaska, and the United States. It will say what Negro legislators are doing in Congress and also will report on the Negro actors in Hollywood and in the independent all-Negro movies. It tells what the vast number of Negro stage performers are doing. The Negro weekly will tell about the work of Negro doctors in Negro and white hospitals. It gives social news, civil, educational, and historical features plus the plans of the Negro businessmen and the work of the Negro colleges.

The Negro newspapers are up on current events also. At the time of the San Francisco Conference they gave complete coverage of the conference and what it would mean to the Negro people in terms of extensions of their civil liberties. These Negro newspapers also listed the outstanding Negro leaders who attended the conference at the invitation of the State Department and gave itemized accounts of what these people did at the conference. When the atomic bomb was announced the Negro newspapers were on the alert to give an account of the Negro workers at the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, atomic plant and the Negro scientists who helped to make the atomic bomb possible.

A cross section of the Negro press will show that some papers are pro-

gressive, some conservative, and some are just fence sitters. The columnists are reactionary, conservative, liberal, and radical. They are not always Negro columnists and are sometimes white Americans, Chinese or Japanese Americans, or Africans. They are northerners, southerners, easterners, and westerners. The columnists are often outstanding civic leaders such as Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; sometimes a poet, such as Langston Hughes, but always they are people who have had experience in the Negro problem and want to offer constructive criticisms in intercultural relations. At times they are optimistic and hopeful, sometimes they are pessimistic and offer barbed comments, but always they are interested primarily in getting citizenship rights extended to the Negro.

The papers have puzzles, short stories, comic cartoons, and classified advertisements by both Negro and white businesses. News stories include items by correspondents sent overseas and by correspondents in various cities covered by the paper. The Negro press even boasts a White House correspondent. At the present time there is one Negro press association, but editors have made plans for another. They know that at least two are needed to give adequate coverage to the vast store of Negro news.

The Press Is Vigilant

There are also plans for a Negro daily. The Negro press gives the Negro crime news and delinquency and scandal news, but devotes most space to showing what is being done about Negro civil rights. Such items as restrictive covenants and omission of Negroes as members of the white major league ball teams and as pilots with various national airlines are included.

There are 156 Negro publications in the United States. Among them are *The Pittsburgh Courier* with the largest circulation; *The Chicago Defender,* outstanding for its presentation of news items and editorial policy; *The Norfolk Courier and Guide;* Afro-American newspapers and *Atlanta World,* and the magazine *Color,* which devotes part of each issue to answering defamatory statements made about the Negro.

The Negro press voices hopes, achievements, fears, and trials of thirteen million American citizens. It is ready to do an effective job of making the Negro citizen an integral part of our national scene. This is its creed as:

"The Negro press believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords to every man, regardless of race, color, or creed, his human and legal rights. Hating no man, fearing no man, the Negro Press strives to help every man, in the firm belief that all are hurt so long as anyone is held back."

World Government vs. World Community

(Continued from page 3)

Two Worlds Within One

The fundamental fact with which strategy must reckon is the existence of two worlds within this one world. The difficulties of bridging this gulf in understanding, interests, and ideals have increased as a result of victory and of the new insecurity. Consequently the idea that world government can be a "first step" at a time when even the methods of collaboration agreed upon at San Francisco are difficult disregards the limitations of the historical process. It may be possible, given an increase of fellowship in other areas, to evolve an inspection system for weapons of mass destruction which would curb national sovereignty to some extent. Such a system, however, would be only a start toward world government, and it would be confusing to call it anything more, or to overlook the real obstacles to any common government. At the present time, as Senator Vandenberg has said: "The Soviets would not agree to a world state unless they ruled it. Neither would we, or those who believe in our type of democracy. Our hope is in evolution, and the U. N. is the only available starting point."

Some of the federationists have reckoned with the real obstacles to world government in our time, and have argued for a more limited federation of Western states. The minority report at the Dublin Conference, for example, spoke of exploring "the possibilities of forming a nuclear union with nations where individual liberty exists, as a step toward the projected world government." The use of the term "nuclear" in this connection seems rather odd, for if Russia fears proposals for world government, it is not clear how the threat or reality of a federation of the democracies would attract her to join. Perhaps the group had in mind the uranium nucleus, since no proposal seems better calculated to intensify the explosive elements in the present international situation.

According to some reports, many of the "nuclear" federationists have in fact lost hope of winning the peace, and regard the proposed union as a method, not to win the next war since any victory would almost surely be Pyrrhic, but to avoid losing it. A step toward "the projected world government" that does not offer real hope of averting the "war, which in this atomic age would destroy civilization," but rather seems calculated to make such a war more likely, is no step toward world government.

Even if a world state could be established in our time, there would be no assurance in this that would prevent the catastrophe of another war. Tyranny or weakness might lead to world-wide civil war, with consequences as fearful as international conflict of the present pattern. As William Fox, of Yale, has pointed out, there would be real danger in creating a world monopoly of force before achieving a world community of values to be served.

The immediate issue is that concentration on the problem of world government may help to defeat the feasible steps that can be taken, by diverting attention from the attainable, and thus may help to block the long road not only to world community but world government as well.

This is the sound approach which has been made in Protestant pronouncements on world order, before and since the atomic bomb. The economic and social problems that constitute common threats to the general welfare offer new opportunities for united action, according to the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace in its latest statement on Four Fronts for Peace: "If the peoples of the world respond . . . then by striving together, they will develop a sense of fellowship in the world community. That is the only reliable preventive of war. It is the only foundation upon which close political association can be built."

Next Steps

The World Order executive committee at its meeting on April 29, in Philadelphia, agreed upon the desirability of cooperation with and participation in the world order program of united Protestantism as adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America with special emphasis upon regional interdenominational conference during September, church-wide enlistment for study and Christian peace action from World Communion Sunday to World Order Sunday on November 10, and the exercise of enlightened Christian citizenship in respect to the forthcoming elections. What a movement toward world order there will be if individual Christians, ministers, and lay workers together see to it that in every hamlet, town, and city throughout the land study groups meet during the coming weeks for discussion and action.

"Study and Action" page carries a continued reference to current literature previously recommended by this department for the use of world order discussion groups. Evelyn Luchs, S.E.A. secretary, Athens Presbytery, gives the following report of uses made of the pamphlet *What Next in World Order?*

"As social action secretaries we are constantly asked to lead discussions on world order. . . . Recently a D.A.R. group wanted to discuss world peace. We began with the question (p. 26): 'Were the founding fathers who gave our country a new constitution hypocrites?' Although their actions had not corresponded wholly with their ideals we concluded with Mr. Jones that 'they set up an ideal, and as far as the conditions of the time would permit, sought earnestly to put it into practice.' Then we thought through the implications of the preamble to the United Nations Charter, listing things we might do.

"Sometimes spiritual life groups want to find their contribution to world order. Theirs is the first of the four fronts for peace as they seek to cleanse our hearts of the evil contaminations of war. 'The Strength of the Spirit' (p. 28) is a series of practical illustrations interpreting this front. Spiritual strength is implicit in the reply of the Australian delegation member quoted by Mr. Jones: 'Yes, the charter will be far from perfect, but where the will of the people is strong and the spirit is determined the charter will be found adequate for what they want to do.'

"Sometimes we are asked to present the Church front: 'Seeking unity of effort by all men of good will.' Then let's get right down to brass tacks with 'Good Will in Action' (p. 15). We need to quicken our consciences when it comes to sending food, clothing, and Bibles to former 'enemy' nations. Use (p. 20): 'What Christ had to say about dealing with one's enemies is relevant only when we have enemies! We cannot go on forever renouncing the Christian teaching whenever it becomes relevant. The Gospel is not changed by man's tragedy or folly.' Quotations and suggested bibliography guide in the discussion of the dual responsibilities of providing Christian leadership and creating a sense of world community.

"If discussion is with a secular group concerning the peace treaty front, begin with the two suggestions (pp. 22, 23): 'First, let us insist that the consumer be put at the center in the industrial realignment and reforms now in progress.' Secondly, 'ethical and spiritual leadership should learn, improve, and use the technique of political action.'

But whatever you begin you find straight thinking and clear illustrations for next steps in *What Next in World Order?*

POLITICAL ACTION

Atomic Energy. S. Res. 255 (Fulbright-Morse-Mitchell-Kilgore), the first resolution to approve the principles of the Lilienthal-Acheson Report, has been referred to the McMahon Committee. Hearings on the subject of international control of atomic energy will open before that committee about the third week of May.

* Full public discussion of the State Department's *Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy*, was requested by Secretary Byrnes when the report was released in the State Department's 20-cent pamphlet edition running to 76 readable pages.

To help to make possible this full public discussion, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* undertook an unusual editorial project when it reprinted the Acheson Report in full in the special section of the Sunday edition. The reprint includes every word of the original and in addition includes many cartoons, comments, and helpful headlines.

To help along the good work of making the Acheson Report widely available, the N.C.A.I. has now arranged to supply reprints of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* edition at cost, namely, $4 per hundred postpaid, or 10 cents per copy, postpaid.

Orders should be addressed to the N.C.A.I., 1621 K Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

**** Housing Legislation.** The Senate passed and sent to the House the long-range Wagner-Taft-Ellender housing bill (S.1592) which is designed:

"to remedy the serious cumulative housing shortage, to eliminate slums and blighted areas, to realize as soon as feasible the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

Bipartisan Sponsorship: In the Senate, the bill had bipartisan sponsorship and support, was unanimously reported to the Senate by the Banking and Currency Committee, and was passed by a voice vote in the Senate after 2 days of consideration.

Organization Support and Opposition: Sen. Allen J. Ellender (La.) submitted to the Senate a list showing the names of organizations which—on the basis of hearings before Congressional committees—have indicated their support or opposition to the bill.

The following organizations are among 45 reported as favoring this bill:

Am. Assn. of University Women
Am. Federation of Labor
Am. Veterans' Committee
Council for Social Action—Congregational Christian Churches of the U. S.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Int. Brotherhood of the Maintenance of Way Employees
Nat. Catholic Welfare Council
Nat. League of Women Voters
United States Conference of Mayors
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States

The following are among 13 reported to oppose passage of S.1592:

Mortgage Bankers Assn. of America
Nat. Lumber Manufacturers Assn.
U. S. Chamber of Commerce
Nat. Assn. of Home Builders of America
Nat. Assn. of Real Estate Boards

Next Step: The bill has been referred to the House Committee on Banking and Currency for consideration and recommendations to the House. The plans of the committee for holding hearings on the bill have not yet been announced.

* From the National Committee on Atomic Information, April 17, 1946.
** From Child Welfare Information Service, Inc., April 17, 1946.

Liberation of World Trade

(Continued from page 8)

tices of international combines and cartels, to obtain and examine the facts that are relevant to such cases, and to recommend the remedies that may be required. Enforcement against private violators necessarily rests with sovereign states.

If trade is thus to be freed from the fetters that have bound it, we must give assurance to the many small producers of the great primary commodities that necessary adjustments to shifting demands will be gradual rather than sudden and that these producers will be protected, during the period required for such adjustments, against the impact of violent change. But we must be sure that the measures adopted to this end are temporary rather than permanent and that they are not administered at the expense of the consumers involved. It is therefore proposed that action with respect to the special problem of surplus commodities, in world trade, be international rather than national; that the solution of this problem be sought by measures that would remove the basic causes of the difficulty, not by measures that would perpetuate it; that the solution be sought, in particular, by methods that would expand consumption; that measures restricting exports for fixing prices, where they are necessary, be limited in duration; that they be so administered as to provide increasing opportunities to satisfy requirements from the most economic sources; that they be attended, at every stage, by full publicity, and that consuming countries be given an equal voice with producing countries in their formulation and administration.

We have proposed, further, that all these commitments be embodied in a World Trade Charter and that they be carried out through an International Trade Organization, established under the charter, in appropriate relationship to the Economic and Social Council, as an integral part of the structure of the United Nations. All these proposals point toward an increasing volume of trade. But increasing trade involves increasing interdependence and increasing interdependence involves, in turn, the risk of increasing instability. If our proposals are to gain acceptance, therefore, assurance must be given that nations will seek, through measures that are not inconsistent with them, to achieve and maintain high and stable levels of production and employment. For this reason it is proposed, finally, that each nation should agree to take action designed to provide full and regular employment within its own jurisdiction; that no nation should seek to serve this end by adopting measures that would export its unemployment to its neighbors; and that all nations should co-operate in an effort to stabilize production by exchanging information and participating in consultations with respect to antidepression policies.

These proposals were not prepared in haste; they have been developed by a series of interdepartmental committees meeting in Washington continuously since the spring of 1943. They are not utopian or visionary; they have been hammered out in great detail to meet the actual situation that exists in the world today. They do not impinge on sovereign independence; they merely recognize that measures adopted by any country may have effects abroad and they suggest for general adoption fair rules of mutual tolerance. They are distinctively American.

The international economic policy of the United States today stands in sharp contrast to the policy adopted in the years that followed the first world war. Then our people made new loans to the rest of the world. Now, again, we are making such loans. But then the victors sought to collect reparations in cash and our Government attempted to recover, with interest, the sums that we had advanced to our allies to finance the prosecution of the war. And at the same time we raised our tariff so fast

and so far as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any of these debts to be paid. Now, however, the victors are agreed to the collection of reparations in kind; our Government is writing off the wartime balance of the lend-lease account; and we are proposing to take the lead in reducing barriers to trade. We have come, at last, to recognize the requirements of our position as the world's greatest creditor. We are demonstrating that we can learn from history.

At the suggestion of our Government, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has called a World Conference on Trade and Employment to meet sometime toward the end of 1946. To prepare for this conference, the Council, at its recent meeting in London, set up a committee of eighteen nations, including the Big Five and smaller nations. This committee will probably meet in England in the late summer or early fall. Its agenda, adopted by the unanimous vote of the Council, is identical with the headings in the American proposals. At the time of this preparatory meeting, our Government intends to go forward with actual negotiations for the reduction of barriers to trade, under the provisions of the Trade Agreements Act. Fourteen nations, all of them members of the Preparatory Committee, have accepted our invitation to negotiate to this end.

What are the prospects for the success of this program? It is certain that many countries will be reluctant to relinquish the controls that they now impose on their foreign trade. Some Governments that have established public trading enterprises during the war may never return them to private hands. Countries that have introduced new industries will doubtless insist that these infants be given continued protection. Some countries are frankly skeptical that we ourselves will conform, in particular cases, or that we will adhere, for many years, to the principles we have espoused. Others, distrusting the determination and capacity of the United States to prevent violent fluctuations in the volume of industrial activity and foreign trade, argue that they cannot achieve security unless they insulate themselves against us. It is clear, however, that our proposals have made a profound impression on the other nations of the world. They have been translated into many languages and are now undergoing intensive study in every capital on earth. From a number of countries we already have informal assurances of interest and support. The British Government, in connection with the Financial Agreement which is now before Congress, has formally expressed its full agreement with the American proposals, has pledged itself to enter into negotiations for the reduction of barriers to trade, and has undertaken to support the American program at the World Conference. This is highly significant. The United States and Great Britain are the mainstays of the world's economy. If Great Britain joins hands with us in this enterprise, the prospects will be very good indeed.

It is impossible now to predict how much of the American program will be incorporated in the International Trade Organization charter. There will be conflicts in interest; there will be compromises. We shall probably have to content ourselves in the end with something less than we desire. But at least we shall have turned men's minds from restriction toward expansion, from conflict toward co-operation, from the past toward the future, and from despair toward hope. We shall have constructed another in the group of institutions that promise to bind the world together in the service of a common cause.

Sanctuary

Service of Commitment for World Order

Theme: Vision That Enables.

Silent Meditation:

"These mountains will crumble into dust before we break the peace which we have pledged at the feet of Christ, our Redeemer." (On the base of the statue of Christ of the Andes.)

Call to Worship:

Leader: "The nations raged, the kingdoms were moved: He uttered his voice, the earth melted."

People: "The Lord of Hosts is with us: The God of Jacob is our refuge."

Leader: "They that trust in the Lord Are as mount Zion, which cannot be moved, but abideth for ever."

People: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, So the Lord is round about his people From this time forth and for evermore."

Invocation:

"Lord God, our confidence and joy, how many are Thy gifts and blessings and how patient is Thy love. Thou hast given us life in this fair world and strength to meet its claims upon us. From Thee is the peace of sleep and the fresh vigor of the morning. From Thee is the hope of youth and the faith of old age. To none else may we go save to Thee."[1]

The Lord's Prayer

Responsive Reading: God's Challenge to New Vision and Purpose.

Leader: Where two or three are gathered together with the will to understand, there indeed is born the Kingdom of Heaven.

People: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: they all gather themselves together, they come to thee. . . . And the foreigners shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee."

Leader: "No longer do I call you servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you."

People: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd."

Leader: "For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit."

People: "And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it."

Leader: "In love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another; in honor preferring one another."

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[1] From *A Sheaf of Prayers*, by Paul Moore Strayer, pastor emeritus, Third Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York. Published by Persis Chapter of the Women's Guild of Third Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York. Used with permission.

People: "Not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others."

Leader: "But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition."

People: "Where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all, and in all."

The Offering

Prayer: For Peace Among Nations.

"Dear Lord, we pray for peace. Thou hast put in the heart of man a love of peace, and yet the mind of man has never been able to achieve it. Thou hast made him dream of the time when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning-hooks, and when men shall forget the art of war. Thou hast sent into the world the Prince of Peace, Thine own dear Son, and yet after all these centuries of Christian living, the kingdom of heaven is only just at hand. The soul of man is overshadowed by his instruments of destruction, and the heart of man is aghast at the death-dealing forces he has let loose.

"Save us, O God! Save us from ourselves. Save us from our own passions, from pride and fear and hate. Save us from the road to ruin along which we were so rapidly travelling.

"Make us desperately afraid of war and all that follows in its wake. May the fear of the Lord come upon us, and a deep awe of the human soul. May we remember Thy commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and may we be afraid to take the life which Thou alone canst give. May the blood of innocent men shed by innocent men cry from the ground. May the horror of it strike into the souls of all that they have no heart left for fighting. Replace the lust of war with hatred of war, and when evil men plan war and seek to inflame their fellows to go out and kill, may the heart of man reply, 'We will not kill our brothers.' Give to us a resolute purpose, that will not be denied, to find some better way than war for the settling of disputes between nations. May we put aside prejudice and partizanship and all false pride and agree together that the strong and the weak alike shall submit their cause through orderly, judicial procedure, to the reason and conscience of mankind. Grant that even the most powerful of nations shall agree to abide by the reasoned judgment of their fellows and that the strong shall seek no rights denied to the weak. Grant that the mind of Christ shall prevail among all peoples that name His name, and even among the peoples who receive Him not as Lord and Master.

"May a just and lasting peace be established on the basis of human forbearance, such as will insure the healing of the wounds of conflict and a renewing of the bonds of brotherhood. Grant that Christ's spirit of love may more thoroughly pervade the life of nations as well as of individuals; that national jealousies and suspicions may be abated, and that the pagan and selfish elements in our civilization may be rooted out. Teach Thy children, O God, to love justice rather than power, to desire service rather than rule. Grant to this affrighted, startled world that quietness and confidence which shall be its strength; give to men everywhere a mind at liberty from itself and a sure trust in Thee, the God of nations. . . . Amen."[2]

Hymn: "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah."

[2] *Ibid.*

The Tragic Fallacy of Political Zionism

(Continued from page 15)

made before the British-American Commission in Jerusalem.

To speak of the inhabitants of Palestine as nomads, and refer to its militant patriots as "tribesmen," is the height of absurdity. In my travels through the country I have come across a few small Bedouin camps —and in my travels through the United States I have seen a few small gypsy camps; but the Palestinian is no more a nomad than I am a gypsy. "The only time in my life that I ever slept in a tent," the president of the Arab National League said to me, "was while I was on a hunting trip in the Adirondacks."

If it is honest ignorance which persists in referring to the uprising of Palestinian patriots as an exclusively Moslem movement, it would seem that anyone so ill-informed is disqualified from further discussion of the subject. Every Moslem in the land is, indeed, irrevocably opposed to turning it over to any alien race. But every Christian in the land is equally irreconcilable in his opposition to political Zionism, while the thousands of Jews who were living in Palestine prior to the advent of Zionism proved also to be in practically solid opposition to it. Many of these Palestinian Jews suffered persecution for their refusal to support the Zionist newcomers. "Why don't they leave us alone?" pleads President Magnes, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "We have lived peacefully with the Arabs for generations."

In March of this year, the spokesmen for the Jews of Syria stated to the British-American Commission that they are enjoying the same constitutional rights and privileges that Arab citizens possess, and therefore see no reason for taking sides with political Zionism. The Jews of the Lebanon Republic are apparently so uninterested in the Zionist controversy that up to the time of writing they have not sent any representatives to appear before the investigating commission. Abdul Rahman Azzam, secretary-general of the Arab League, told the commission that, prior to the rise of Zionism, "the Jews were our brothers and our cousins."

But today, because of the aggressions of political Zionism, the whole Arab world is seething with an ever-increasing resentment which is fast coming to include all Jews as equally deserving of punishment and the storm of awful, needless calamity which farsighted and spiritually minded Jews have long foreseen may at any time engulf innocent and guilty alike in a common disaster the horror of which will shock even our war-hardened world.

To us Americans, modern Zionism has a peculiar religious and political significance. Everyone zealous for Christian missions must feel a veritable heartbreak for the way in which the hasty and ill-advised indorsement of the Zionist program by Congress has nullified the sacrificial labors of generations of missionaries and educators, which had resulted in our country's holding a unique place in the respect and affection of Arab peoples. "America our friend!" Arabs now exclaim derisively. "The American Government has *officially* identified itself with our Zionist enemies."

And the tragedy lies in the fact that from the viewpoint of every pious Jew who desired to live in his people's Holy Land and then sleep in its sacred soil, the whole pretentious scheme of political Zionism was absolutely unnecessary. Nobody had the slightest desire to interfere with any manifestation of religious idealism. But Rabbi Isserman reminds us that political Zionism "did not originate among deeply religious Jews." If for no other reason, we who call ourselves Christians should throw all our influence against this perversion of historic Judaism because of the debt we owe to the Jewish race and religion; for, in the words of a great American Jew, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., political Zionism is "the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history."

Barriers Delimiting Japanese Americans

(Continued from page 20)

benefits, sentiment is growing that these unfortunate victims of wartime displacement should be compensated now for damages that were imposed upon them in a disproportionate degree as compared to the rest of our civilian population.

The terminal problems of evacuation still badger those concerned with returning Japanese Americans to some equitable position in society comparable to that which they occupied before Pearl Harbor. Many without permanent housing are being sheltered in temporary facilities which, having been declared surplus, therefore become subject to one more in a long series of evictions. Restrictive covenants further curtail residential quarters available to them. Freight stored in War Relocation Authority warehouses now must be claimed by them, lest it be sold. Present quarters, generally temporary in nature, provide little storage space, and they are compelled to place their properties in private storage or depend upon the good offices of friends to help them.

Subtle forms of designating Japanese Americans as *personae non gratae* in employment still persist. The floor woman in an overall factory served notice upon the superintendent that her girls would walk out if a Nisei girl were retained. The Nisei owner of a beauty parlor is unable to secure needed operators because Caucasians refused to work under her, although her clientele were Caucasians. Schools of beauty culture are refusing to train Japanese-American students. The refusal to hire, train, and upgrade Nisei exists to some noticeable degree. Certain labor unions with established policies of reluctance about admittance of minority group members continue to draw the line particularly since the Federal Fair Employment Practices Code has been discarded.

Pitiful at the moment is the pathetic misery into which certain American citizens of Japanese ancestry have been projected. Their situation highlights the disparity between the European and Asiatic immigrant accorded under our present immigration laws. American citizen wives and children of treaty merchants find the treaty status of their husbands and fathers terminated by reason of war, and their chief support thus summarily forced to be deported. Others are former Japanese students who have aided America's war effort, but now are on deportation lists. Were they of European stock their residency and the hardship conditions imposed upon their citizen dependents would have permitted the Attorney General to exercise clemency powers and grant them suspension of deportation. Orientals, except Chinese, are unable to utilize this provision of the immigration code.

Numerous attempts have been made in the past to discredit the single and unequivocal allegiance of American citizens of Japanese ancestry by citing their alleged dual citizenship. Such proponents neglect to mention that the United States Government does not recognize duality on the part of any of its citizens. Japanese Americans in an effort to lay this ghost for all times are petitioning the American Government to incorporate in a future treaty with Japan the nonrecognition by this Government of any claim made on the citizenship of American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

The dispersement of our population into all sections of the United States under the exigencies of war demands has likewise scattered sectional prejudices to all parts of the country. Timely would be a call for a national conference on minority problems. A democracy can no longer tolerate the gradations of caste citizenship. A first class nation can be made only of first class citizens. We can reach that objective when each administration is charged with the responsibility of establishing harmonious patterns of living for all Americans.

The Workshop

Study Course. "The Christian Concern for World Order" was the subject of a study course for adults on four pre-Lenten Sunday evenings in connection with a School in Christian Living at Fair Oaks Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, Illinois.

Mrs. Paul Gebhard, chairman of the Committee on Social Education and Action of Chicago Presbyterial Society, assisted in planning the studies, serving as speaker and discussion leader for the first two evenings. The topics were "The Church's Concern for World Order," and "The Social and Economic Cost of World Order." The third evening was given to the study of "Our Nation in World Order," led by Mrs. Ovid R. Sellers, vice-president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago. The fourth hour, on "Reconciliation, Restoration, and Rehabilitation," was addressed by Rev. Sam H. Franklin, who was recently discharged from the Navy chaplaincy, and is now serving as Midwestern representative of The Board of Foreign Missions.

Average attendance was forty, interest increasing as the series continued. It was agreed that there was value in having the adult series in connection with similar studies carried on by three youth groups. All met together for supper and for a half-hour vesper service conducted by the pastor, Dr. Herbert N. Brockway. Guest speakers included John McCracken of the Board of Christian Education who brought a slide film on *The Races of Mankind;* Rev. Gilbert T. Bremicker, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Berwyn; and R. D. O'Brien, general secretary of the Oak Park Y.M.C.A.

Institute on Alcohol. Dr. Thomas Franklyn Hudson, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon, reports on the plan for an Institute on Alcohol, as worked out by him and Dr. O. Le Roy Walter, field director for the Synod of Oregon: "I have now appeared before the four presbyteries of the Synod of Oregon, presenting the results of my studies at the Yale School of Alcohol Studies. In addition, I have appeared before many local and out-of-town Church groups. With the assistance of other Yale School alumni, we also put on an institute of alcohol studies in one of the large hotels of this city, which was widely attended not only by residents of Portland, but also from towns in both Washington and Oregon. In this institute we had the co-operation of the state health authorities, P-T-A and teacher groups, Church leaders and social workers. As our featured luncheon speaker for this occasion, we had the Governor of Oregon."

Church Welcomes Returning Evacuees. In midsummer of 1945 most of the former Japanese residents returned to their homes in the vicinity of Hanford, California. Shortly after their return, the Japanese Presbyterian Church and the manse were destroyed by fire. Thorough investigations revealed that there had been no vandalism. This tragedy confronted the Christian people in our community with a magnificent opportunity.

The doors of the First Presbyterian Church were opened to these folk who had lost their place of worship, and now regular Sunday-evening services are being held by the non-English-speaking members with their own pastor in the First Church. Moreover, the Nisei have become a part of the regular groups of the Church, attending the Sunday School, the morning worship service, and the young people's evening meetings. They lead meetings, assist in the music, and participate in the discussions and in the prayer life. Some teach in the Sunday School. They join with the Caucasian people in singing a

the county hospital on Sunday afternoons and they were a part of the Christmas caroling group. On Palm Sunday quite a number joined the membership of the First Church. It is a source of real joy that even some of the Buddhist young people have expressed their desire to become Christians and now attend services. The young people, about half Nisei and half Caucasian, have received a cordial welcome in many homes of the community, where they gather each week for fun and fellowship after their Sunday-evening meetings. Some of the families who live far from town worship in little surrounding country Churches near their homes, where they find a welcome. Many thrilling stories could be told concerning the efforts of individual citizens to welcome back their former neighbors and make them feel that they are really coming home. As we strive to build better relationships among all people in the world we are mindful of General Marshall's statement, "We must not waste the victory." And we are mindful of the teaching of our Christian faith that "ye are *all one* in Christ Jesus." (Mr. and Mrs. Otto J. Groeneveld.)

Comic Book Honor Roll. The Youthbuilders Club of the James Fenimore Cooper Junior High School, New York City, announces that it is issuing a Comic Book Honor Roll. This honor roll lists the names of those comic books that have made and are making a genuine contribution to the cause of racial harmony in the true American sense. (1) *Captain Marvel Comics,* published by Fawcett Publications, 1501 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y. (2) *True Comics,* 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, for general excellence, and consistent promotion of racial harmony. (3) *Patches Comics,* Rural Home Publishing Co., 155 N. Clark St., Chicago, for their handling of the Negro character Jimmie in the comic strip called "The Secret Seven." (4) *Headline Comics,* published by American Boys Comics, 1790 Broadway, New York City, for the good interracial group portrayed in their strip "The Junior Rangers." (5) *Thrilling Comics,* Standard Magazine Co., 10 East 40th St., New York City, for their comic strip "The Commando Cubs." (From *American Unity,* January, 1946.)

Peoria Pulpit Forum Lectures to Become Interdenominational Project. A series of Public Forum Lectures sponsored over the last two seasons by the First Presbyterian Church of Peoria, Illinois, will next year be sponsored by six large downtown congregations, according to an announcement by Rev. William Atkinson Young, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. The project was inaugurated by Mr. Young in the fall of 1943 for the purpose of bringing to the community outstanding spiritual leaders, both clergymen and laymen, whom Peorians could not otherwise hear. The project has attracted widespread attention both from community groups and individuals and now stands parallel in public support to Peoria's nationally famous Citizens' Forum which each year brings numerous outstanding personalities to speak on secular issues.

The *Peoria Journal Transcript* gave enthusiastic editorial comment to the project under the headline "This Too Is Peoria."

Churches officially sponsoring the series next year, in addition to the First Presbyterian Church, include the First Baptist Church, the First Universalist Church, the First Methodist Church, the First Federated Church, and the Congregation of Anshai Emeth Temple. A committee consisting of the pastor and a prominent layman from each of the participating congregations has been organized with Rev. William Atkinson Young, chairman; Jack Szold, vice-chairman; and Herman C. Schwab, secretary-treasurer.

Excerpts from the report of the First Presbyterian Church, Peoria, Illinois.

About Books

The Balance of Tomorrow, by Robert Strausz-Hupé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

What puts the power in a world power? This is the question Robert Strausz-Hupé raises in *The Balance of Tomorrow,* and its answer seems to lie primarily in the probable success with which a nation may hope to wage war.

The book was written before the fateful day at Hiroshima, and the decisions arrived at appear tentative in the highest degree. To offset this shortcoming, the author points out in his preface, which was written after the atomic bombing, that the real basis for world peace rests now, as before, in the realm of international morality.

International morality, indeed, is the touchstone for world peace, as the great majority of today's thinkers agree. The thought, however, appears in a lonely and pathetic light in a book devoted primarily to power politics.

For those interested in the subject, the author presents a detailed evaluation of the raw materials and technological and industrial potency of the leading nations of the world today, or the world, that is to say, as it was before the releasing of atomic energy as a means of destruction.

FRANCES W. MERCHANT

Tomorrow's Trade, by Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund. $1.00.

Tomorrow's Trade is one of a series of reports published by the Twentieth Century Fund to give its readers a firmer understanding of the great economic problems facing us in the postwar period. Stuart Chase is well qualified by his ability to simplify complicated data to serve as mentor in the field of foreign trade, even though he freely admits this is not his special métier.

Mr. Chase's book falls into four distinct parts. Somewhat oversimplified, the first discusses prewar trade and what it means and has meant to our country and its standard of living. Included is an explanation of the gold standard as compared with managed currencies.

The second part of the book concerns the effects of World War II. A gloomy but realistic picture is painted of our position at the war's end, and of our prospects for what lies ahead. The depths to which civilization has sunk and the magnitude of the problems of the immediate future are lucidly expressed in a quotation from Felix Morley's *Human Events:*

"To avoid a sharp spiritual letdown, and a reaction of interim cynicism, bitterness and isolation, it is essential that we should soon begin to study the map of Europe . . . as a ruined shell of an utterly exhausted, very possibly dying civilization . . . Nobody is necessarily to blame for failure to re-establish something like normal conditions in districts whence the tide of battle has long receded. What is important is the evidence that restoration of normal conditions begins to seem beyond our power of accomplishment."

The section ends with a significant and thoughtful appraisal of the United Nations and the suggestion that perhaps we do not really understand the cause of war—that the cause may lie deep in human nature and consequently that "we the people have not yet cared enough about stopping wars to do anything effective."

The third part is an anticlimactic discussion of possible postwar trade conditions with a world bank, managed currencies, and cartels. In it the author emphasizes the need for balancing exports with imports, on a "stuff for stuff" basis excluding the possibility of a permanent Santa Claus program.

The epilogue, and fourth part, discusses atomic power, its possibilities on the bright side, and its grave potentialities on the dark side.

Stuart Chase's point of view is that of the enlightened man of common sense. What his work may lack in profound analytical qualities it makes up in intelligibility to the nontechnical reader.

EDWARD MERCHANT, JR.

Freedom Under Planning, by Barbara Wooton. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.00.

Barbara Wooton's "four freedoms" in her *Freedom Under Planning* are cultural and civil freedom, consumer freedom, producer freedom, and political freedom. Her thesis is that the conscious planning of economic priorities is not incompatible with those freedoms.

For instance, in our complex society the conflict between consumer freedom to buy and producer security to supply can be resolved only through some public authority's adjustment of deficiencies and surpluses. Take free choice of employment, one great freedom that has never been enjoyed and cannot become even a partial reality without planning. In a large planned program of housing, of food production, or whatever, free choice of employment can be given by pricing or repricing the jobs available according to need for workers, and leaving each worker free to apply for the job he prefers. This is the method of inducement which makes for a balanced economy without industrial direction or conscription.

The author points out that the relation between freedom of enterprise and planning must be treated as a matter of expediency rather than of principle. There is no ideal socialist state; neither is there any out and out capitalist system. Even the Russian economy has a fringe of private enterprise; even Americans have their public utilities. All economies are mixtures of "private enterprise, state, and municipal enterprise, semipublic corporations, and producers and consumers co-operatives in varying proportions." Therefore in planning we shall need to avoid extremes, for we deal not with absolutes but with shades and degrees.

Success or failure of planning revolves around (1) wise selection of the men or women responsible for the planning. This is difficult in an uneducated democracy (practically a contradiction of terms), yet not hopeless, for most of us are better judges of people than of public issues. (2) People's political activity must be shifted from the top to local scenes where they are more competent to contribute. (3) There must be social equality, or, "to speak more precisely, closely limited inequality."

HAZEL R. BROWNSON

America's Stake in Britain's Future, by George Soule. Viking Press. $3.00.

Rival Partners, America and Britain in the Postwar World, by Keith Hutchison. Macmillan. $2.00.

Here are two books by two of our better-known journalists who hold the same point of view, develop their argument on parallel lines, and come to the same conclusion, viz., that there is a strong probability that America and Britain, which have pulled in the same harness during the war, will find themselves pulling at cross-purposes economically in the postwar era and thus make World War III more likely. Both authors believe in a "planned economy" as the only hope of averting disaster. Mr. Hutchison says it is no longer a question of whether we shall have a planned economy or not; it is now a question of what kind of planning we shall have. He points out that even those who cry out most vehemently against it do not altogether believe what they preach, for all the while they support the tariff and other measures that interfere with the free working of the law of supply and demand.

Both authors show clearly that Britain is faced with the necessity to "export or

die." While America is much more self-sufficient, she is also faced with the necessity of exporting in order to provide full employment, especially after the immediate pent-up demand for consumer goods is satisfied. But if America is to export, she must also be willing to balance exports with imports.

Both authors give considerable space to an exposition of the Beveridge Plan and the practical steps which the British Labor Party is taking to put it, or modifications of it, into practice to make social security, full employment, good health, housing, education, etc., available to all in Britain. Both are favorably disposed toward the Keynes theory of full employment and "deficit spending. High employment accompanies a high level of total spending, and low employment accompanies insufficient spending." When employment falls off because of insufficient spending, then the Government should increase its expenditures to make up the deficiency. To obtain the money, the Government should tap incomes, not all of which would be spent—that is, tax savings and borrow from commercial banks or other large financial institutions.

Both authors also survey the areas of likely economic conflict between the two nations. These include food, ships, planes, oil, monopolies, cartels, and export subsidies. Both give considerable attention to the Bretton Woods Conference and its two offspring, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. Hutchison has a chapter in which he admits the truth of the common American charge that British industry is often inefficient because of reluctance to scrap obsolescent plants, machines, and techniques. While both cite the danger to Britain of another depression, Mr. Soule's emphasis on this point is much sharper. In fact, the strong probability of an American depression within a few years seems to overshadow everything else. Unless American industry and Government adopts a planned economy and thus provides full employment, he sees another depression as inevitable in America. This in turn will bring about a world economic collapse which will impoverish Britain's foreign customers and drastically reduce her ability to export on which her economic life depends. Both nations must adopt a common policy which will maintain full employment in both. If both pursue such a policy, "they can agree without much difficulty upon fiscal and monetary policies, international trade policies, exchange stabilization, international investment, control of cartels and monopolies, and all other possible subjects of controversy," Soule concludes.

George Soule is editor of *The New Republic*, director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and a member of the National Planning Association. Keith Hutchison was born in England; has sat in the London School of Economics under Hugh Dalton (now Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Harold Laski; has worked for Clement Attlee and with other young men who are now leaders in the British Labor Government; has served on the *New York Herald Tribune's* London bureau; and now, as associate editor of *The Nation*, writes its column "Everybody's Business."

Whether they can agree or not with these authors, the minister and layman in world order should read one or the other. Both books contain a wealth of information. Both are lucid presentations of their point of view. Hutchison's style is perhaps a trifle pleasanter reading, but he has a few more pages which the busy reader may want to skip.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

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THOMAS FULLER

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CORRECTION: ***Toward American Prosperity*** and ***Trends in Collective Bargaining,*** Twentieth Century Fund publications, were erroneously listed in an earlier issue as free. The first may be purchased for *5 cents a copy;* the second, *$2.00* or, for *25 cents, in reprint form.*

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